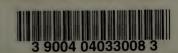
A fourth letter to the people of England

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### AFOURTH

# LETTER

TO THE

People of ENGLAND,

[Price Two Shillings.]

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### AFOURTH

### LETTER

TO THE

## People of England.

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Jocerne tecum per literas? ciwem mehercule non puto esse, qui temporibus his ridere possit; ita sunt omnia debilitata jam prope & extincta.

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# ETTER

Peuple of England.

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### LETTER

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## People of England.

#### LETTER IV.

T length the long predicted Confequences and fatal Effects of manifold Misconduct, so much derided by those who gave and those who received the Wages of Iniquity, are become too alarming to be denied by the most hardy and inured to that pernicious Practice.

EVEN those who traffick in your undoing, acquiesce in this Truth, and presume to B vindicate vindicate themselves by afferting ye were found undone, when the Ad——n was delivered into their Hands, and that no Remédy has sufficient Essicacy to save you from Perdition.

The dire Dilemma into which ye are brought, your distressed Situation, the Loads of accumulated Taxes, the Diminution of Trade, the Neglect of English Welfare, the attention to Germanic Interests, the Reliances on Foreign Mercenaries, and Contempt of British Subjects for the Desence of this Island, the whole Conduct of Affairs both at home and abroad in Europe and America, and that despicable Appearance to which ye are reduced in the Sight of every Nation upon Earth, render this too visible to every Eye the least inquisitive, and too afflicting to every Heart not yet transformed to Stone by the long Practice of plundering it's Native Land.

To avoid all Appearance of inflammatory Declamation, and filence the defamatory Tongues of all who share their Country's Spoils, who affert that every Attempt to emancipate you from your Evils, is a malignant Defign to depreciate the M——y; let us impartially

partially recall to your Eyes the most material Articles of the A——n, since the Commencement of Differences between the British and French Subjects on the Banks of the River Ohio.

In this place, the more effectually to lay before you the real Causes of this War, it will be necessary to lead you back to a Transaction not sufficiently known by all of you, which passed between the M——y of France and England.

In the Year One Thousand Seven Hundred and Forty-nine, or One Thousand Seven Hundred and Fifty, some American Traders, Subjects of the King of Great-Britain, travelled to the Borders of the Obio, to traffick with the Natives of those Parts. This being known to the Canadian French, Messengers were dispatched to acquaint them, that unless they withdrew from their Master's Territories, their Essects would be confiscated, and themselves carried to Prison at Quebec. This Message the Traders thought fit to obey, and withdrew in Consequence of it.

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THE succeeding Season, another Company of British Subjects came to trade on the Obio, and not withdrawing on a like Message with the former, their Goods were confiscated and themselves carried Prisoners to Quebec. from whence they were brought to Bourdeaux in France, and still detained in Prison. Not conscious of having violated the Laws of Nations, or traded on any Ground to which the King of Great-Britain had not an undoubted Right, they remonstrated to the B-/h M-y, infifted upon being claimed as B-h Subjects, and honourably discharged from Prison, as Persons unoffending the Laws of Nations; nay they entertained the honourable Hopes of Englishmen, that the M-v of E-d would not cease to demand an Indemnification for the loss of that Merchandize, which had been unjustly taken from them, and Reparation for the Infult and and long Imprisonment of their Persons; Expectations becoming Men who value their Liberties, Properties, and Nation's Honour; in this they were deceived, the true Spirit of an En-/h M-r no longer dwelt amongst us, the Amb-r at Paris, instead of demanding these Subjects of his Master, as Men unjustly

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unjustly held in Prison, and Reparation for the Injuries they had received, was ordered by the M—y to sollicit, as a Favour from the Court of France, the Discharge of them only, acknowledging their Offence. Were not your S—n's Rights, and your own Privileges shamefully given up? Were not the Lands on the Obio confessed to belong to the King of France? Were not the French justified in imprisoning your Fellow-Subjects, and confiscating their Effects, by this tame Behaviour of the B—sh M—r?

AFTER this dastardly Concession in those whose Duty it is to defend your Privileges, can it be a Wonder that that Country was claimed by the *French* as their own, or that they began to build Forts and Block-Houses to secure the Trade, and ascertain the Property of it?

LITTLE as this Transaction was known or attended to in E——d, the taking Pos-fession in this Manner of the Frontiers of Virginia, alarmed the People of that Province; in consequence of which Mr Washington attacked them in those Parts, and was deseated.

It feems, however, that before this timid Acquiescence of the B—sh M—r, in thus acknowledging that Part of A—a to be the Property of France, he had granted the Lands on the Obio to a Quaker of the City of London, and his Associates.

THUS caught between the King of France and a Quaker, like the Mariners of old between Scylla and Charybdis, he became unequal to the Dangers and Difficulty of the Steerage, and fell into great Embarrassments.

HE now perceived, that though he had pufillanimously given up to Enemies his Master's Rights and your Privileges, that the French Minister, tenacious of both, and his own Honour, could not be negociated into receding from what had been granted him; he perceived also, that the Quaker, fortified by a pertinacious Adherence to his own Interest, could not be soothed into relinquishing the Grant which had been made him. If the French Monarch was backed by the Arm of Flesh, and Two Hundred Thousand Men to support his Claim to the Ohio, the Quaker was sustained in his by the Spirit of Obstinacy,

and Interest of the Legion of Sectaries; on one Side a French Invasion and a War filled the M——r with horrid Apprehensions; on the other, he was greatly disquieted, lest, by deserting the Quaker, he should offend the Money-Jobbers of the City, and be unable to raise the Supplies.

To strengthen this Dilemma of the M-r, there was added to the insuperable Propensity in a Quaker of never relinquishing an Advantage, a secondary Motive, which probably at that Time escaped the sharpfighted Ken of our m-l Lynceus; the Grant of the Ohio, however great it might be conceived, was a distant and problematical Advantage only, a War on the Continent of America was a present and positive one, as the Remittances to the Armies in those Parts, an Object of great Gain, would pass through his Hands, and by Means of this Money sent to America, his Debtors in that Country would be enabled to discharge those Debts, which otherwise he entertained but little Hopes of receiving.

URGED by these Motives, this Son of Meekness and Resignation pressed the M-r

M—r to fend those Subjects, whose Loyalty to their King, and Love to their Country, are above all Fear of Danger, to sacrifice their Lives in recovering the Lands of Menwhose Principles will not permit them to defend the Cause, or fight the Battles of King or Country.

Thus, at first, the want of Spirit in the M—r, to vindicate his S—n's Rights and Subjects Privileges, timidly beseeching as a Favour, what he had a Right to demand as Justice from the French, has given that Nation a better Foundation to the Claim of the Ohio.

IF it be asked, whence it comes to pass that this Behaviour of the B—sh M——r has never been mentioned in the French Memorials

morials relative to the Disputes in America, it may be answered, with Truth, that the French Ministry perfectly knew that this ceding the Territories of England, by the Timidity of the M—r, was no legal relinquishing the B—sh Right to these Lands, and that the K—g and People would never acquiesce in this Concession.

THEY therefore made no public Use of this Argument, reserving it only between the B—sh M——r and themselves, lest a public Declaration of this Affair might remove him from the Ad———n, and the French Monarch lose an Ally of greater Consequence to his Success, than any Potentate in Europe; for what can impart such Strength to an Enemy, as the want of Courage and Capacity in the Man who opposes him?

THE French M—y had proved in a former War, and by long Experience in Peace, the Inconfistency, Inability, and Timidity of this Man; to these they were greatly indebted for their Success in the late War, on his Dispositions and Capacity they presumed to encroach upon us during Peace, on the same Qualities they promised them-

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felves the like Advantages for the future; to discover his timid and absurd Behaviour was to risque his Removal, an Event to be dreaded by all French Subjects. They concluded, perhaps too rashly, that as no Nation ever had furnished two M—rs, succeeding each other, so unequal to the Task of governing as this Man, that therefore no Nation could; and in consequence of this Manner of Thinking, secreted this Behaviour with respect to the Ohio, and chose rather to make Nova Scotia the Object of the Quarrel to the Public. This they determined to sustain by Arms, when they found themselves deseated in Argument.

AFTER a most gracious Speech from the Throne at the Beginning of the Session, when all was gentle and pacific, on Tuesday the Twenty-fisth of March, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Fisty-five, the Scene suddenly changes, War becomes the universal Conversation, and a Message was sent from His M—y to both Houses, importing, That the present Situation of Assairs required an Augmentation of his Forces by Sea and Land, to defend his just Rights in America, and repel whatever Attempts might be made against

To this Message both Houses presented very loyal Addresses, expressing their utmost Zeal and Affection for his Majesty's Royal Person, Family, and Government, assuring him of a ready Compliance in supporting him to repel all Attempts which may be made to disturb, or deprive him of his Kingdoms.

LET us now see what Provision has been made in Defence of all Parts of His M——y's Dominions by his M——r, in consequence of this Resolution of Hostilities. Mr Braddock had been just sent to Virginia with English Forces; the satal Effects of that Expedition, the Weakness of the Design, and ineffectual Execution of it, have been already laid before you.

THE Defeat of that Officer being accompanied with his Death, a Mistake, not inferior to the first Choice of this Commander, was discovered to every Eye; it seems there

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was no Officer amongst the remaining military Force which had been sent to America, equal to a Command of such Consequence.

THE M——r then who planned this Expedition, must have concluded that Mr Braddock was both invincible and immortal; otherwise, as a Disease might deseat all the Success which the greatest Courage, Prudence, and Capacity might atchieve, and the French Arms prevail by the Loss of a General whom Death only could conquer, he would have sent a Second equal to the Task of commanding an Army. My Reason for saying this, is, that when Opportunity had proved, contrary to m——l Wisdom, that this General was neither invincible nor immortal, the Command did not devolve on any Officer sent from hence with Mr Braddock.

Now to me it feems, that nothing can be a more convincing Proof of the M——r's imagining Mr Braddock superior to Death and Defeat, and of the supposed Insufficiency of all the Officers who accompanied him, than the Command in Chief falling on G——I S——y.

This Gentleman had been bred at the Bar, and was grown old in the Practice of it; by unforeseen Accidents he at last became G—r of a Province in New England; he had never been present at Siege or Battle, and his Talents, however nicely adapted to his Profession of the Law and other Departments of a G—r, promised but little Success in the Management of military Affairs, being by Nature slow, diffident, and inert: Him, notwithstanding, the E—sh M—r selected to command the King's Armies in America, accompanied with the Appointments and Pay of the late Duke of Marlborough.

THE Character of every other Governor in America being unknown to the French Court, whoever besides had been appointed

G——l, they might probably have concluded that as he ought to be, so he was, equal to the Command of an Army. This would, at least, have made our Enemies less sanguine in their Hopes of Success; but Mr S——y was as well known at Paris, where he resided a long while Com——y for settling Nova Scotia, as in London; so that the French Ministry being perfectly acquainted with his Talents, the Apprehensions of Danger from such a Commander, were but little in their Minds, or in those who were to oppose him.

NAY, so full were the Parisians, on the News of his being appointed Commander in Chief in America, that the first Salutation amongst those who were acquainted with him, was, Que pensez vous Monsseur, Le Ministre d'Angleterre a nommé nôtre ami Monsieur S—y General des Armies du Roy en Amerique.

 him for accepting this Post, so honourable and lucrative; to have refused it, would have been an unexampled Instance of Self-denial; an Expectation not founded in the Nature of Man: Nothing is more natural than to imagine ourselves equal to every Undertaking which our Superiors conceive us to be; without this prevalent and encouraging Self-opinion, the M——r must have long since resigned his Charge.

In consequence of being destined to the chief Command, Mr S-y repaired to Albany, where, after long imitating the celebrated Fabius in Delay, he at length, with the same Deliberation, began his March, counting his Steps, towards the Lake Ontario, where being, alas, too maturely arrived, and perceiving that nothing was to be done against the Enemy, he as deliberately marched back again, meeting no Opposition which he did not easily overcome; and thus began and ended the Expedition of G-1 S-y, exactly as it had been predicted by all who knew him, imitating the Great Lewis in going up the Hill and coming down again. In this, however, the whole Blame rests on him who chose, and not on him that was chosen:

chosen; the G——I furely is to be pardoned who failed in his Expedition, when the M——r was so much mistaken in his Judgment of him.

NOTWITHSTANDING this manifest Desiciency in the B—sh M—y, in the Choice of their Generals, that of the Americans was as remarkably just. General Johnson, formed by Nature for the military Art, whom Sagacity blended with Courage, Activity with Patience, render what is not always to be found amongst Seen-service and regular bred ... rriors, was the Object of their Choice.

This Gentleman, with the Militia of the Provinces, took the French General Prisoner, and defeated Ten Times the Number of those French Troops, before which Mr Braddock and his Regulars shamefully retired; and though this military Success was followed by no farther Advantage to the American Cause, than that of taking Prisoner the Enemy's General, it must be imputed entirely to the jarring Councils of the different Provinces, Delay in sending Provisions and Recruits,

cruits, Envy of his Success, and various other Causes.

LET us now turn our Eyes on what was transacted in another Part of America. It seems the Inhabitants of New-England, being thoroughly acquainted with the Importance of Nova Scotia, had resolved to drive the French from their Forts in that Part of America; with this View General Winslow and Two Thousand Militia sailed for Halifax, where being arrived, and joined by about Two or Three Hundred Regulars only, under the Command of Colonel Monckton, they took Beau se jour, and immediately all the other Forts surrendered.

Thus the only Advantages which were derived from all the military Preparations against the French in America, were effected by a General, unknown to the B—sh M—r, and a Militia of Americans, and by an Expedition planned by the Provinces of New-England, the last of which Exploits the Americans had always in their Power to accomplish, unassisted by Men, Money, or Ships, from this Island: whilst the Generals and the Expeditions appointed by the M—r,

were either ignominiously defeated, or rendered ineffectual.

The last Summer then was productive of the Reduction of Nova Scotia, Mr Braddock's Defeat, Mr S—y's ineffectual March to Oswego, General Johnson's Victory unpursued through Deficiency of Powers, and his relinquishing the Service through Disgust.

THE Campaign being terminated so little to the Advantage of the Americans, the most natural Thought which could employ the Attention of a Statesman, was that of speedily reinforcing those Parts against the French Attempts, which would undoubtedly be more vigorous the succeeding Summer than the former, as Men and Ammunition would be sent them to sustain the Establishments they had made on the Back of the British Settlements; let us see what Provision has been made, and how speedily Assistance has been transmitted to your Fellow-Subjects in those Parts, from whence the great Source of your Wealth and Commerce is derived.

THE first Attempt in their Favour was that of creating a Regiment of Germans to be enlisted

enlisted in Europe, and sent thither; whose Officers were to be composed of Men, Strangers to this Land, and Aliens to it's Liberties and Privileges, unproved by Experience, guiltless of Siege or Battle, in whose Favour the British Subjects of untainted Loyalty and approved Courage were rejected, and even an express Article, in an Act relating to the Settlement of the present august Family on the Throne, was suspended by a particular Bill in Parliament. Notwithstanding all this, transacted in Favour of Foreigners, no Advantage has hitherto accrued to the Plantations from that Design, neither Men or Officers being yet sailed to that Part.

THE Winter passed away, the Spring was advancing! No G——I appointed! No English Troops destined for the Succour of America, 'till on April the Fisteenth, the Transports set Sail with Otway's and Murray's Regiments for America, too late to be of any Assistance 'till next Spring, unless the French may, peradventure, possess themselves of Virginia, or some other ill defended Colony before their Arrival.

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In such Situation and Distress as the Provinces remained at the End of last Autumn, when the Desiciency of Generals was so apparent to all Comprehensions, is it to be believed that the Commander in Chief should have been with-held 'till the latter end of May; and yet this has been the real State of the Case.

THAT Man who was to superfede all others in Command, has not been sent 'till it is probably become too late for him to perform any Thing of Consequence this Summer; the General in Chief, who should have been sent last Autumn, and been present in a new Country as long as possible before his entering upon Action, to be acquainted with the different Resolutions of the various Provinces, to have known the Genius of the Inhabitants, planned the Expeditions, and created a Considence in those who were to obey him, was the last Person dispatched on this Occasion.

It is but lately that even any one has been fent to America; within two Months Mr Webb has superseded Mr S—y, General Abercrombie Mr Webb, and Lord Loudon

all of them: by this deep Contrivance, indeed, the M——r has fulfilled the Scriptures, which fay, the first shall be last, and the last first; yet without the Imputation of Insidelity, there are those who cannot believe that the Chief in Command ought to be the least acquainted with the Business he is to undertake.

Is there another Head in Europe, besides the m-l, which would have fent Commanders in this Manner? If Lord Loudon had gone first, Mr Webb and General Abercrombie would have followed naturally; and, as they were under him in Command, fallen into their Places of Duty, which are to obey his Orders and Dispositions; but as the M-r has destined the Affair, the Commander in chief must now follow the Plans of Men inferior to himself in military Knowlege, or remain inactive; for certainly the Preparation for every military Expedition, must have been too far advanced before Lord Loudon's Arrival, to admit of any confiderable Alteration; nay, even before Mr Webb and Abercrombie arrived; so that Mr S-y is, in Fact, General in planning the Operation of this Campaign also. How ridiculous then was this m—— l Disposition in sending out the Commanders?

Commanders? Lord Loudon must, from the Nature of his Commission, which supersedes all others, be imagined superior in every Thing relative to the Commanding an Army, to all who were fent before him; otherwise it is the greatest Absurdity to have sent him at all: and yet, by pure Subtilty of m-l Contrivance he must necessarily be the least acquainted with what he is to undertake, if he arrives Time enough for Action this Campaign; and bound to follow Operations already concerted by a Man proved unequal to the Undertaking, or remain on the defensive. Is not this cunningly subjecting a Soldier and Man of Capacity to all the Insufficiency of Underflanding, in that very Person which was so much complained of in the Conduct of the last Summer's Campaign, and defeating the whole Expedition for this Year? Admirable Sagacity!

Besides this Inversion of Wrong for Right, so natural to m——I Understandings, in sending the Officers of highest Rank, it is to be observed, that even the inserior Officers of Lord Loudon's Regiment, together with Arms, Ammunition, and other military Preparations, lie at this Time \* at Portsmouth; and.

and, what is not a little extraordinary, the Muskets, and other military Weapons, lay a long while on the Wharfs, waiting for Transports, which were not then hired to take them on Board. I fay nothing of the Sagacity. of that m——I Conception, which shipped the Carriages of the Cannon on Board one Sh.p, the Cannon on another, the Ball on a third. and the Powder on a fourth; a Contrivance not. easily to be parallelled in any Ad-n. Hence, by this Subtilty of Thought, the Chance of defeating the whole Expedition was increased as four to one; for, if each Article had been proportionably mixed in the Cargoes of the four Ships, the taking one Ship could have defeated but one fourth of the Intention, and so in Proportion; but, as it was designed, the taking one Ship renders the whole useless; how complaisant are the M—rs in all their Undertakings to your Enemies?

To this might be added the Five Hundred Barrels of Gun-Powder purchased untried of the Dutch, cunningly to prevent it's falling into our Enemies Hands; which, upon Experiment, proved as explosive as Saw-Dust.

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THESE last mentioned Affairs, however, must be considered as below the Attention of M—rs, whose Capacities are so different from the common, and are only a farther Confirmation of that great Faculty of rightly distinguishing and selecting Men, sit to be employed in all Situations under their Directions.

IF Deficiency in the Supplies granted by Parliament had been the Cause of this Delay, and Inattention to the most valuable of all our foreign Possessions, much might have been offered in Vindication of a M-r; but, fince our most Royal Master, our most Gracious Sovereign, in his most Gracious Speech from the Throne, has been pleased to thank his People for the vigorous and effectual Support, which has been granted him, what can be faid in Defence of Men, who have thus abfurdly applied it, shamefully neglecting the most important Object of this Kingdom. It would be ridiculous to name the Cause of this Delay; it must be affigned to that which no Man in England is weak enough not to perceive, the M-r excepted.

Ir then superior Knowledge of Mankind be necessary in a M—r, to direct him in his Choice of those who are to act under him; from these Instances, not purposely selected, what Hopes remain in you of him who always, undeviating, appoints the least qualified for the Task committed to their Care.

HAVING thus set before you the Description of the American Colonies, without the Commerce of which this Kingdom must soon languish into a total Decay, and shewn that even the trisling Succour hitherto designed since Braddock's Deseat, must by the Deslay in sending it be rendered inessectual during this Summer; let me now turn your Eyes on what has been transacted in Europe during that Time, in Desence of Great-Britain and Ireland, together with another Dominion, not belonging to this Crown, and which to the present Minute has been no great Source of Acquisition to this Nation.

IN Seventeen Hundred and Fifty-five; during the Time which passed between the Message

Message to both Houses, and the Prorogation of P—t on the Twenty-eighth of April, no Addition was made to our Land-Forces? No Law passed to arm the Subjects of Great-Britain, against any Invasion from the French, a Neglect which there is too much Reason to fear, may one Day prove fatal to this Kingdom; but great Sums of Money were granted, and the equipping a respectable Navy engaged the whole Attention of the Adm—n.

Hrs M-v having put an End to the Seffion; the same Day, that no Time might be loft, despising the Manaces and Invasions of the French, set out from St James's, greatly risquing his Sacred Person through Seas and Tempests, to provide for the Defence of his Dominions. During his Absence, let us recollect what were the Occupations of the M—y at Home towards this Attainment: they were employed in committing Violence on your Liberties, depressing the Courage of Sailors by Compulsion, manning Fleets which have been almost useless by their Destination, and leaving the Island open to the hourly Invasion of the French, through Deficiency of domestic Force.

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However,

However, to the immortal Memory of the M—r, this Inattention at Home was amply recompensed by his Care on the other Side the Water; two Treaties, supposed to be teeming with Advantages to this Nation, were concluded: One with the Empress of Russia, the other with the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel; the first signed at Petersburgh, the Thirtieth of September Seventeen Hundred and Fifty-five, the other at Hanover the Eighteenth of June the same Year.

The first Article with Russia, confirms the Treaty concluded in Seventeen Hundred, and Forty-four, by which the Empress agrees to furnish the King of Great-Britain with Ten Thousand Infantry, and Two Thousand Cavalry, if His M——y's Dominions should be attacked, or with Five Hundred Thousand Rubles in Money, yearly, during the Attack. Neither of which having been demanded during the last Rebellion in Scotland, it seems no unjust Inference to conclude, that that Treaty related to H——r only; otherwise, by what Argument shall we justify our M——y, who, during that Time of Peril and Expence, neglected to make that necessary Requisition of

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the Troops, or Money, in Favour of England, stipulated in the Treaty.

THESE Forces being deemed insufficient in the present Emergency, it was thought prudent to increase the Number to Fifty-five Thousand, Forty Thousand of which were to be Infantry, and Fifteen Thousand Cavalry; added to this, Forty or Fifty Gallies were to hold themselves in Readiness to act on the first Orders.

BESIDES what has been already faid, relating to the Treaty of Seventeen Hundred and Forty-five, which makes the Basis of this, the fourth Article in the second Treaty with Russia, confirms it's being designed for the Desence of H— r only.

Gallies shall not act except His Britannic Majesty or his Allies are attacked; and then the commanding Officer, as soon as he shall receive His Majesty's Requisition, shall make a Diversion with Thirty Thousand Infantry, and the Fisteen Thousand Cavalry; and at the same Time shall embark the other Ten Thousand Infantry on Board the Gallies, in order

order to make a Descent according to the Exigency of Affairs.

Now does not the second Article, by agreeing that those Troops shall be held in Readiness on the Frontiers of Livonia and the Gallies cruifing on that Coast, declare the Intention to be that of invading the Prussian Territories, if the King of Prussia shall attempt any Thing against the H-n Dominions; otherwise the Stipulation, that the commanding Officer shall make a Diversion with Thirty Thousand Infantry and Fifteen Thousand Cavalry, as foon as he shall receive His Majesty's Requisition, would appear a palpable Absurdity; because these Troops, which are to make this immediate Diversion in Favour of His Majesty, cannot march into France in much less Time than fix Months, if the should invade this Island: this Diverfion then, to be put in Execution as foon as the Requisition shall be made on the Part of Great-Britain, cannot mean an Attack upon France; much less can their marching to the Aid of this Kingdom be the Intention of that Article, unless the same M-r, who, twelve Months fince, did not know that Cape-Breton is an Island, had not at the Time

Time of concluding this Treaty heard that Great-Britain is surrounded by the Ocean.

Besides this, Gallies being unfit Vessels for transporting Troops on the Ocean, and the Circumstance of being ordered to make a Descent, according to the Exigency of Assairs, with Ten Thousand Forces, prove that these also were designed to assist the former Number, in whatever they should attempt, and neither to invade France, nor succour England. The term Descent, being always understood in a hostile Sense, cannot well be intended to signify their coming hither as Friends, and the Number is too small to attempt an Undertaking of that Kind on the Shores of France.

In Consequence of this Agreement then for the Defence of the E——I Dominions, the Empress of Russia is to be paid by Great-Britain, One Hundred Thousand Pounds annually, during the Term of four Years in Times of Peace; and as soon as those Troops shall pass the Frontiers of her Country Five Hundred Thousand Pounds a Year: in Consideration of this Augmentation of her Subsidy, the Empress is to take upon herself the Payment,

ment, Sublistence, and transporting her Troops, wherever they shall be ordered by Great-Britain, and not to re-call them 'till the Expiration of the Treaty, though her own Dominions should be attacked.

THIS Article of the Treaty is yet another Confirmation, that it excludes all Idea of the Russians being ever intended to defend this Island; because the Pay of an equal Number of British Troops, in the same Proportion of Horse and Foot, would annually amount to One Million Seven Hundred Thousands Pounds; now is it possible to conceive, the Russian Empress can have agreed to support those Forces in England, where Provisions are dear, on less than a third Part of that Sum? and where the Pay of each national Soldier is but just sufficient for his Subsistence. Would not this be a Kind of Compact to starve her own Subjects? much less would the oblige herself to the transporting them for the same Money, which Expence alone would confume the whole Subfidy.

INDEED, by the eleventh, a truly Christian Article, it is agreed, That the Russians shall have full Liberty to plunder wherever they

they come; this auxiliary Confideration, as they would not fail to put it in Execution, might probably prove an ample Recompence, for the Smallness of their Pay, after their Arrival in England.

However, as I think it my Duty to do Justice to all Mankind, weak as our m——I Leaders may be, it appears, I own, too rank a Contradiction, want of Capacity, and Inattention to their own Interest, to have made a positive Compact, that Foreign Troops shall interfere in the Occupation and Advantages peculiar to themselves, of plundering the People of E——d.

WHEREFORE, from this Article alone it ought to be concluded, that this Treaty was made folely for the Interest of H—r; and you the innocent Subjects of E—d; were thereby doomed to a more severe Fate, than the Almighty imposed on your first Parents, who rebelled against his Will; ye must now not only get your own daily Bread by the Sweat of your Brows, but even labour for the Bread of others, who have no natural Claim on you, and with whom ye have no Connection, thus the Trade and

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Toil of Englishmen must be annually employed, in gaining half a Million of Money for the sole Ease and Safety of the Subjects of H——r.

Notwithstanding these Proofs to the contrary, if any one chuses to believe this Treaty included any immediate Reference to the assisting this Kingdom of G - t - B - n, he has my full Consent, even then it will soon appear I imagine a small Justification of m—I Proceedings.

AMONGST the many Precautions which all wise M——s have observed in concluding Treaties, there have been two from which they have never swerved; the First is, that in all subsequent Treaties they have observed the strictest Care, that no Alliance with a weaker Potentate, shall defeat the Advantages of former Treaties made with a stronger; without attending to this Observation, M——s lessen their Powers by every new Acquisition of Allies, a Subtilty not much unlike the denying the use of Arms to the Subjects of a Kingdom, for their own Defence during War, and trusting to hireling Foreigners.

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THE Second is, that the Honour and Interest of the Nation, which they superintend, are to be the great Objects of all M—s in their Treaties with foreign Nations; without due Regard to this Observation, States, like Dupes at Play, become the beggared Object of Ridicule to all crowned Heads.

LET us now enquire, whether these two essential Maxims have been judiciously pursued by the M—s of E—d, in their Treaties with Russia, Hesse-Cassel, and Prussia.

In order the more clearly to effect this, we must place Things in the same Situation they were, before either of these Treaties was concluded.

BEFORE the Conclusion of the Treaty with the Empress of Russia, the M—s of E—d were under no small Apprehensions of the Prussian's laying hold of the growing Differences between G—t-B—n and France, and possessing himself of some of the Electoral Dominions; this his Undertaking, though of no Disavantage to G—t-B—n, might prove notwithstanding a most embarrassing

raffing Circumstance, if a War should break out on the Continent, to the M—s of this Nation, whose constant Pursuit it has been to prefer the H—n to B—sh Interests.

To disengage themselves from this Perplexity, it was thought necessary to conclude the Treaty as above specified with Russia; and indeed it must be acknowledged, that the Prospect of Things by this new Alliance with Russia, was greatly improved in Respect to H—r; the Prussian, who before this substitution Treaty with the Muscovite, had entertained sanguine Hopes of enlarging his Dominions, was now reduced to fear less his own Territories might be diminished by this new Alliance.

THIS Treaty then with Russia, setting the Interest of this Island out of the Question, which it has constantly been for this forty Years, whenever it came in Competition with that of Germany, was truly beneficial to the Electorate of H—r; it included the two Advantages abovementioned, of increasing Power by Alliance for the People it was intended, and Honour to the M——s, if Men can merit such Reward, who neglect

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the Welfare of their own Country, to serve that of Foreigners.

THE Fifty-five Thousand Rushan Troops, were undoubtedly an Augmentation of the Powers of H—r and it's Allies, as it fubjected the Prussian King, their suspected Foe, and whose Interests are as incompatible with the Austrian, as those of Heaven and Hell, to no small Terrors on account of Silefia, if the Empress-Queen should fix her Heart on repossessing that Gem, which had been plucked from her imperial Diadem, and which the still beholds with longing Eyes; at the same Time then, that the Prushan, by his Dread of the Russian Arms, was rendered incapable of annoying the Ele-l Dominions; the Friendship between H-r and the Empress-Queen, who considered this Treaty as made in her Favour, was greatly strengthened, particularly as the latter entertained Hopes of their being employed in her Service in the Recovery of Silefia, if the Prussian should intermeddle in the Quarrel between the King of G-t-B-n and France; or in Flanders, if the French should attack that Part of her Dominions: Thus the Prussian King, by means of this Treaty between G-t-B-n and Russia, was placed in that very anxious Dilemma from which H-r had been just extricated.

This was the very Situation in which it was the Business of the E—sh M—rs to place and secure him, and to extricate himself as expeditiously as possible, was the great Object of the Prussian; let us now enquire which of these has ultimately attained the Ends of their Endeavours.

No Man saw more perspicuously than the Prussian Prince, how greatly the Scale of Advantages was turned in Favour of Harman and Austria, by the Treaty between Garand Austria, by the Treaty between Garand Russia; he therefore set about devising some Means, by which to relieve himself from this disquieting Dilemma; in Consequence of which Design, from his own pure Inclination, without Overture from Each it seems, he proposes a Treaty between this Kingdom and Prussia, which was speedily concluded.

At this Time it was, that the mercenary Tongue-Pads were let loofe in Favour of the Wisdom of our Mars in the Russian Treaty:

Treaty: The falutary and humiliating Confequences which it had produced on Prussia, and the beneficial Alliance which had been so long wished, and at length completed between the two Crowns; let us now examine, whether this last Treaty with Prussia has been productive of all those Blessings, which it was boasted to have brought upon it's Wings; or whether like the Drone it has not brought the Sting only without the Honey.

THE two most material Articles in this Treaty are, first, that G-t-B-n with her Allies, and Prufia, shall mutually affist each other in endeavouring to keep all foreign Troops from entering the Empire.

THE fecond, that Great-Britain shall pay Twenty Thousand Pounds, as an Indemnissication for the Captures of that Merchandize which was taken on board Prussian Bottoms, condemned and fold during the last War; and in Return, that Prussia shall pay the Silesia-Loan.

AND here it feems evident at first View, that the whole Benefit which might have accrued to the Austrians, and even to the H—ns,

was defeated by this fecond Treaty with Prussia. Because, as by the Russian Treaty, the B—sh M—r had agreed to employ the Muscovites in the Empire of Germany, to the Aid and Interest of H—r and her Allies; in this with Prussia, he had most sagaciously engaged to keep them from their Assistance. And thus those Men, who valued themselves so highly for concluding the Treaty with Russia, to bring her Forces into Germany, were now artfully engaged by the King of Prussia to oppose the Entrance of the very Troops which they had hired in their Favour.

By this fingle Article, did not the King of Prussia find himself quite extricated from all the Difficulties in which the Russian Treaty had involved him?

IF the Empress should attack Silesia, he had now no other Affair upon his Hands but that of opposing her Arms; because the M—rs of G—t-B—n had by Treaty agreed to keep out the Russians, and free him from Apprehensions on that Side; from this Change of Circumstances, the Empression

Queen grew disgusted with the B—sh M—r; she saw herself and her Interests deserted, her Friendship and Alliance rejected, and renounced in Favour of a weaker Potentate: And from that Time, being convinced of the Weakness of the B—sh M—r, entertained the Idea of seeking the Alliance of a stronger and wifer Power: Thus Prussia has totally deseated the sole Advantage, which the Russian Treaty had given the States of E—d and H—r over him, and this Kingdom and the Electoral Dominions lost the use of the Austrian Powers, by preferring a weaker Alliance to a stronger.

Let us now suppose that France, notwithstanding this Treaty between G-t-B-nand Prussia, should resolve to attack the
H---n Dominions, what Advantage can
redound to that Electorate from this Convention between G-t-B-n and Prussia, to
oppose the Entrance of all foreign Troops into
the Empire; will the M-rs of this Isle
and those of H---r rely on this Treaty with
Prussia, and conside in the Forces of that
Prince to prevent the French from invading
the H---n Dominions; or if they should
entertain this Considence, and act in Consequence

quence of it, will the *Prussian* march his Aramy in their Defence, and give such an Opportunity to the Empress-Queen of recovering Silesia, whilst he is deserting his own Dominions, to fight the Battles of H——ri

I IMAGINE no Man believes, either that the M——rs would confide in *Pruffia* on fuch an Occasion, or that King desert his own Interests to follow those of others.

It the French then, notwithstanding this Convention with Prussia, should march towards the Territories of H—r, it seems evident that the Russians, according to Treaty, must still be invited to the Assistance of the Electoral Dominions; in such a Case, of what contradictory and clashing Circumstances will the two Treaties appear to be composed.

THE Treaty with Prussia obliges the M—s to exclude the Russians, and all Foreigners, from the German Empire; that with Russia, to call them to the Aid of the Electorate into Germany.

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Thus the Russian Troops, which, by the Agreement with that Empress, are to come as Friends to the Assistance of H—r, are, by the Treaty with Prussia, to be opposed by those very H—ns, as Enemies.

In Consequence of this Alliance with Prussia, if the French Forces should march to invade the Electoral State, and the Russians to defend it, at the Requisition of our M—rs, the H—ns are obliged by Compact to become so many Drawcansirs, and kill both Friends and Foes.

By the Alliance with Prussia they are engaged to keep out the Russians; the Moment then the Muscovites begin to march, according to Treaty, and the Request of our M—r to the Assistance of H—r, the Treaty with Prussia obliges the H—ns to divide their Troops with those of that Monarch, and march one half to resist the coming of their Allies the Russians, and one half to resist their Foes the French; what an illustrious Instance of refined and profound Politicks is here produced.

By this judicious Proceeding, our M—rs have fairly divested the H—ns of the Russian Assistance; for, if they rely on the Alliance with Prussia, the Russians cannot act in their Favour, and if they claim the Aid of the Russians, one half of the H—n Soldiers are, by Compact with Prussia, obliged to join and oppose the very Troops they call to their Assistance.

In this Manner, in Obedience to Treaty, the Electorate will be deprived of one half of her Troops wherewith to engage the French, because they must be employed to oppose her Friends the Russians.

This must be the necessary Consequence of the Treaties with Russia and Prussia, is both are put into Execution; for, unless the H—ns oppose the Russians equally as the French, from entering the Empire, the Rrussian is entirely disengaged from all Obligation between him and the B—sh M—rs, and the H—ns are the first Infracters of the Treaty. Wherefore, as it is impossible, from the nature of Things, that the H—ns can oppose the Russians, which they have G 2 called

called to their Affistance, it follows, that the Prussian cannot act at all, because he would injure the H——ns more, in opposing the Russians, by calling off one half of the Electoral Troops, than affist them in opposing the French.

Thus the Result of this boasted Wisdom of the M—r, in the Union between G—t-B—n and Prussia, is at last no more than a dexterous Deliverance of the latter, from that Peril he was fallen into by the Russian Treaty. He is at Ease from all the Fears which that Alliance had imparted on the Account of Silesia; disengaged from all Obligation in his Agreement with E—d, by the Absurdity of our M—rs, and the almost Impossibility of it's being put in Execution; and may not improbably, by virtue of this Alliance, be supported against the House of Austria, by the very Russians which our M—rs originally had hired to oppose him.

HAVE they not then thus cunningly deprived themselves of all the Advantages which the Treaty with Russia had given them; have they not, by renouncing the Austrian Interest, displeased the Empress-Queen; and, by this Alliance

Alliance with a weaker Power, rendered themselves less able to resist the French Arms in Germany; have they not united the Houses of Bourbon and Austria, after having spent Three Hundred Millions to keep them afunder, and to support the latter in opposition to the former; is it possible then that those M-rs, who have been so easily circumvented by the Prussian King, could ever have perceived the Force and Efficacy of that Treaty with Russia? Ought not then the Muscovite Alliance to be deemed the pure Effect of Chance or Malice (which the Article on plundering feems to infinuate), as that with Prusha, the legitimate Child of Ignorance and Mistake.

Subjects of this Island the Remainder of the Silesia-Loan.

ABSURD as the first Article has been proved to be, this second is not one Step behind it in Mistake and Ridicule, and even before it in pernicious Consequences; for as that first Article, by having united Austria and France, may now cost this Island Two Millions of Money, in supporting the Russians for the Interest of Prussia, if Silesia should be attacked: So the second Article of the Agreement bids fair to destroy all the Commerce of G—t-B—n, at least all the Advantage she can draw from a superior Fleet in Time of War.

depended on our persevering in our Right to these Captures; and this, I believe, is the Opinion of all Men of Understanding in the Nation.

NOTWITHSTANDING which, in Contradiction to all good Sense and sound Policy, Restitution for these Captures has been made to *Prussia*.

By this Concession, we either acknowledge that we have no Right to seize military Stores, designed for our Enemies, on Board neutral Bottoms; that the Decrees of that Nation, on Board whose Ships they are taken, are valid, though contradictory to those made in the Courts of G-t-B-n; or that our M—rs are become such timid and abject Wretches, that whatever crowned Head, however contemptible on the Seas, shall dare to dispute the Legality of seizing and consistenting such Stores, shall be repaid whatever his Subjects may lose.

I AM fensible the M—rs affert, that this Twenty Thousand Pounds was not given to the King of *Prussia* as an Indemnification for the Captures made last War, but because they had

had a mind to present him so much of that Money, which you labour to procure sor them to squander.

Is not this Answer to the full as childish as the Article is pernicious; like two Boys at School, where one gives the other Money not to beaten, and yet insists it was not through Fear but pure Love; does this excuse him from the Imputation of Cowardice, or Change the Motive in the Opinion of his School-Fellows? Will not he be insulted by all the others as much as if he had confessed the true Reason?

This illustrious Instance of want of Sense and want of Resolution must have an advantageous Tendency at the Eve of a War; will not the Prussian still insist upon the Right of carrying Stores in his Ships to your Enemies? Will not the Dutch, Russians, Danes, and Swedes, with all the other maritime States of Europe, demand, put in use, and support the like Privilege for themselves, which you have already granted to the Prussian? And, if you oppose this Liberty, will not your Captures of their Ships, however legal, draw the Resentment and Arms of all Europe upon you?

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WHAT then is the Advantage of the Payment of the Silesia-Loan, when compared to the dreadful Consequences of this Concession? How will you now distress effectually the Commerce of your Enemies, if your M—rs permit neutral Ships to transport and traffick, not only in the common Produce and Merchandize of France and her Colonies, but even in military Stores, to the Destruction of all your Trade and Security? Will you longer vaunt your Empire of the Ocean?

Thus then, as by the former Article, the M—rs of this K—m had effectually destroyed the good Effects of the Russian Treaty with Respect to H—r, in this they have given a fatal Wound to the Interest and Honour of G—t-B—n. Destined, as ye are, to labour for German Welfare, how will ye support the Expence of those Millions which it must cost, when the Source of all your Riches, your Trade, is destroyed?

Now let me ask those hireling Trumpeters of the m——I Wisdom in concluding the Prussian Treaty, What are the boasted Advantages which are derived from it to this H Kingdom?

HAVING thus, in some Degree, explained the pernicious Effects of the *Prussian* Treaty, let us examine what Advantages are likely to be derived to this Kingdom from that with *Hesse-Cassel*, and what are the Merits of the M—r in making it, and behaving in Confequence of it's Conclusion.

THE great Object of this Treaty is, that either Eight or Twelve Thousand Troops, as G-t-B-n shall require, of which the fixth Part is to be Horse, are to be furnished by the Landgrave of Hesse for this Kingdom or her Allies, and to be paid for by E-d only.

Now,

Now, as increasing the Strength and su-staining the Honour of a Nation should always make the great Objects of a M——r in his Treaties with foreign Nations; so Frugality in supporting and complying with them in the Management of the public Money, should ever be inseparable from every Article.

LET us see whether this last Duty of public Parsimony has been more closely pursued in the Alliance with Hesse, than those of Power and Honour were observed by that with Prussia.

By the fifth Article it is agreed, that every Trooper shall first be purchased at about Twenty Pounds Sterling, and every Foot-Soldier at about Seven Pounds; which, in all, makes about a Hundred and Twelve Thousand Pounds levy Money; besides this, the Landgrave is to have about Thirty-seven Thousand Pounds annually before the Troops march; and, as soon as they march, he is to receive Seventy-sour Thousand Pounds annually, 'till they enter into Pay according to that of H—r or E—d; at which Time, the Subsidy returns to about Thirty-seven Thousand

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fand Pounds annually; which again, when the Troops are fent back, is to return to Seventy-four Thousand Pounds a Year, during the whole Duration of the Treaty which is four Years.

In the mean Time, whatever Men or Horses die by Disease, or are killed in Battle, the Beast is to be paid for at double the Price of the human Being; a blessed Consideration for the Subjects of German Princes!

In like Manner, whatever Arms or Artillery shall be found deficient, or taken by the Enemy, a full Recompence is to be made by G-t-B-n to the Landgrave of Heffe.

By the tenth Article, these Troops shall be instantly sent back whenever the Dominions of the Landgrave shall be attacked.

Let us now, in Obedience to the Inclinations of the M—r, allow that the Ruffians as well as the Hessians were by Treaty obliged to come to the Assistance of G—t-B—n: it being at length determined that France would certainly invade this Island; that the B—sh Forces were unequal to the repelling

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repelling a hostile Invasion; that the Subjects of E——d should not be armed in the Defence of themselves, their King, and Country; and that foreign Mercenaries were necessary for our Protection and Safety: Let us then explain with what admirable Fore-thought, Prudence, and Oeconomy, the M——rs have proceeded with Respect to the Security of this Land in the Requisition of Truops, according to the two Treaties.

FIFTY-FIVE Thousand Troops are, by Compact with Russia, to be sent by the Empress of that Nation to affist England; these Forces she is to transport and sustain for the annual Subsidy of Five Hundred Thousand Pounds, without any farther Consideration for Death of Men and Horses, or loss of military Stores, and no return of them is to take Place during four Years, if the Russian's Dominions should be hostilely invaded.

NOTWITHSTANDING these Conditions of this Treaty are so favourable in Price and Frugality, no Requisition of Russians has been made in behalf of G-t-B-n, but Eight Thousand Hessians are brought into England, the Expence of which will amount this Year,

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as the M—rs confess, including levy Money, Subsidy to the Landgrave, Death of Men and Horses, transporting hither and back again, and Pay, to a Million Sterling.

Thus this military Aid in Hessians, costing double the Money that seven Times that Assistance would have done in Russians, is fourteen Times as expensive; a plain Proof how different the Bargains are which are made between this Nation and the Germans, and this Nation and Russians; and how much Oeconomy in the public Money, and the Defence of this Island, enter into the Transactions of the M——r with German Princes.

ONE Article of Frugality in the public Money must not be omitted. Amongst the Troops landed in E——d, there are about Nine Hundred Horses, which, one with another, are not worth more than four Pounds a Piece; notwithstanding which, each of these Horses has already cost about twelve Pounds levy Money, and nine Pounds in being transported hither; after this, twelve Pounds more is to be paid for each Horse which dies in the Island; thus every dead Hessian Horse will cost this Nation Thirty-three Pounds, eight times

times the real Value, and becomes to the Landgrave worth three times more dead than alive. Is it not then the Interest of the Landgrave, and the Duty of the commanding Officer, to take special Care that none of these Cattle ever revisit their native Land; however, if any of them should survive, nine Pounds more are to be paid for the Re-transportation of each; thus the Hire of every Hessian Horse, worth four Pounds, will then be only thirty Pounds Expence to you; not quite eight Times his Value.

FROM this Article may it not be justly inferred, that our M——rs are as unskilled in Beasts as Men, and that this Kingdom is the best Market for German Carrion in all Eucope.

ANOTHER Advantage attending the Ruflian Treaty, not to be found in the Hessian, besides Number and Cheapness, is, that the Russians are by Agreement obliged to remain here to your Assistance, though the Empress, heir Mistress, should be attacked.

Now suppose the Empress-Queen of Hunyary, supported by this Alliance with France, should This Mistake, or something more criminal, in preferring the Aid of Eight Thousand Hessians to Fifty-five Thousand Russians; and wasting a Million of Money for the seventh Part of the Assistance, which may be rendered useless also, one would have imagined might have been sufficient to give the M—rs an Intimation of their Error in the Application of the Treaties. Nothing appears to be less true, it being conceived that the Kingdom was not yet sufficiently protected from French Invasion: It was agreed to request the El—r of H—r, your dear Ally, that he would be graciously disposed

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posed to save this Nation, by affishing the K—g of G—t-B—n with Eight Thousand of his Troops.

HERE again the Russian Treaty was totally neglected; it was judged more eligible to apply for H-ns, at a fresh Expence, than to make a Requisition of the Russian Troops. In Consequence of this Opinion, the P-t requested, and the Kingdom was favoured with Eight Thousand H-n Forces, which are fince arrived. Does not this Proceeding afford a fresh Instance of m-1 Profusion; for though the Sum granted on this Account, is vastly short of what the M-rs confess will be the Expence of the Hestians; without the Gift of Prophecy one may venture to predict, that, at the Conclusion, when the Application of the Million, granted by Vote of Credit, comes to be specified, this Expence will be equal to that of the Hessians; because I am convinced, the great Wisdom and Knowledge of the E\_\_\_r of H\_\_\_r, in concluding all subsidiary Treaties, is in no Sense inferior to that of the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel. According to this way of reafoning, Eight Thousand Hessians and Eight Thousand

Thousand H——ns may cost Two Millions of Money; four Times the Sum of almost four Times the Number of Russians. Add to this, the Probability of the H--ns being less liable to tarry to your Affistance than the Hessians, as H-r will more likely be attacked than Heffe, it may not improbably happen, that these Two Millions will be useleffly wasted in Subsidies and other Expences on foreign Troops, which cannot be of Service in protecting G—t-B—n, whilst those that might be are entirely neglected and unrequested. to the dancels of

IT was expected indeed, by every sensible and honest Englishman, that as the Rushans were now visibly hired for the Defence of H—r only, that the H—ns were to come hither in lieu of those Russians; and that, as G-t-B-n now paid Fifty-five Thousand Muscovite Forces to defend the Ele-e, that the Eight Thousand H-ns were to be at the same Expence by way of Exchange to protect E-d.

THIS Suggestion, however reasonable it may feem, proves by no means true in the Event, for not only the H—ns as well

as Russians are paid by G-t-B-n, but there is too much Cause to suspect, that, yet another Bargain is concluded for Eight Thoufand Holsteiners, fince even the M-r had not the Hardiness to contradict that Affertion, when he was called upon, to be paid for with  $B-\int h$  Money, that H-r may lose no Defence by the Absence of those Troops which are arrived to the Affistance of E - d; what a stupendous Instance is this, again, of m—— | Profusion in Favour of German States and neglect of E-h: Five Hundred Thoufand Pounds annual Subfidy to Russia, added to a Million for H——ns tack'd to half that Sum, suppose for Holsteiners, make Two Millions of Money for the feeble Succour of Eight Thousand H—ns, to be paid by E-d, which Troops after all, it is probable, may not tarry four Months for the Protection of this Island.

THUS the preferring Hessians to Russians at fourteen Times the Expence, is here again doubled, and the Eight Thousand H——ns are chosen at the Proportion of Twenty-eight Times the cost which was agreed to be given for the Russians.

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In this Manner, the Servants of the Public, the Guardians of your Liberties and Properties, the M—rs, have made three Conventions in the Place of one, neither of which by this happy Contrivance will probably be of the least Importance or Security to this Island, unless rendering you poor and despicable, and dooming your Hands to triple Labour, for raising Money to pay these foreign Mercenaries, be a public Benefit to this K—m.

By this Act, the M—rs have subjected you, either to the Invasion of your Enemies, or the arbitrary Will of mercenary Troops, invited hither under the Notion of protecting you.

THE Militia Bill, that necessary Law devised for entrusting Arms to your Hands, had for it's Objects the most laudable Motives; Defence for yourselves, your S—n, and your Country.

This Measure, so necessary in itself, which would have rendered you at the same Time free from the Fears of hostile Invasion, and the Conquest of mercenary and pretended Friends: This Measure, reputable for the Subject, parsimonious of public Money, honourable

honourable to the M-r, glorious to the K-g, falutary to the Constitution, and beneficial to the Country, was rejected for Inattention, Profusion, Disgrace, Dishonour, Insecurity, and Ruin; Freemen gave way to Slaves, Britons to Foreigners, Liberty to Thraldom: Is there then the Bosom of one Englishman, which still remains unwounded with the Idea of this ignominious Treatment? accused as ye are of Cowardice or Disloyalty; Cowardice, if your Loyalty is unsuspected; Difloyalty, if ye are yet esteemed a brave Nation; Disloyalty to such a S-n, as 'till this Reign has never filled the Throne of E-d. For what other Reasons can Arms be withheld from your Hands?

SINCE then your Hands are denied the use of Arms, stretch them empty as they are to Heaven, though impotent with Men, they may yet be prevalent before the Almighty; ye are not yet denied the Privilege of Prayer, implore him to have that Mercy on the B—sh Subjects which the M—rs have refused; that since by Misconduct, want of Understanding, or Iniquity, they have driven every powerful State in Europe from your Alliance, and by Profusion and denial of Arms rendered

rendered you incapable of fighting for your Prince, that Heaven of it's all gracious Favour will be pleased to preserve and protect him, yet to reign over ye a Free and Happy People; by this Means alone it seems possible, that ye can be extricated from the numberless Perils which surround you.

HAVING now, in some Degree, placed the Conduct of the M—rs in it's just Light, as it respects their Behaviour in providing for America, H—r, and G—t-B—n, by Land Armies and Treaties: let me turn your Eyes on the Administration of naval Affairs, and candidly examine, whether Symptoms of a more extensive Capacity and greater Prudence have appeared in conducting this Part of the m—l Province, than in the former.

In January Seventeen Hundred and Fifty-five, the Press for manning the B—sh Fleet began with great Violence; scarce any Age or Quality preserved the brave Seamen from this Violation of B—sh Liberty; every Dock-Yard resounded with innumerable Strokes of Axes, caulking Hammers, screaking Tackles, and Cries of Workmen; Pitch, Tarr, and Uproar, filled the Towns of Chatham, Portsmouth,

And indeed it must be acknowledged, that the Merit of this Expedition in Cask making of the Agent-Victualler at *Plymouth* Dock, was as much due to this great naval M—r (of which he knew nothing 'till it was compleated) as any other Part of marine Preparation.

THE Officers who preside in the King's Yards, have indeed a just Claim to the Praise of this Kingdom for their Diligence in equiping Ships of War; to them and to the great Quantity of naval Stores long laid in, it was owing that Ships were so speedily prepared for the Sea; for which Reason, my sacrilegious Hand

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Hand shall never rob the Cottage of the deferving Man in Low-Life, to decorate the Palace of the undeserving, to whom Chance has given Riches and Titles; to erect a Trophy to a L—d from Spoils which common Men have won.

A PARROT which could have pronounced by Authority, Equip ten Ships at Chatham, ten at Portsmouth, and ten at Plymouth, would as effectually and as speedily have produced a Fleet ready for the Seas as the Voice of the First L—d of the Ad—y, and deferved as great an Encomium for the Transaction.

THE Completion of the Business was effected where he was not present, without one new Invention, uncommon Exertion, or peculiar Attention of the Understanding; and which after the Order had escaped his Lips, whether he had been asleep or awake, dreaming or pretending to think, in his easy Chair or on Horseback, would have been equally compleated in the same Time.

LET us now examine, whether the Man who has in this Manner been extolled to the K Skies,

bkies, as the best adapted for naval Ad—n, by the Merits of Boatswains, Gunners, Shipwrights, and Dock-Officers, and what he did not perform, has proved himself, in the Execution of those Duties which belong to him in chief, equal to the Post in which he has presided; and deserving that Applause, which in the Beginning was so liberally bestowed upon him. To accomplish this, permit me to enquire in what Manner, and to what Purpose, the Fleets of E—d have been disposed and destined, since the first naval Preparations in f anuary, Seventeen Hundred and Fisty-sive.

Destination of it had been, as it ought, before Brest; because Macnamara's Squadron was superior to the English at his leaving that Port: For the same Reason had he continued his Voyage to America, Mr Boscawen and Mr Holbourne, by the Weakness and Division of their Fleets, would probably have fallen a Prey to that of the French; and even as it did happen, though the Fleet of France was rendered inferior to that of Mr Boscawen by Mr Macnamara's Return to Brest, all Power of reaping any confiderable Advantage from it was defeated, by the English Fleet being destined to cruize on the Banks of Newfoundland, in those Months when that Station is covered with one general Fog and Darkness.

THE French Fleet being arrived in the River St Lawrence, without any Injury which could defeat the Purport of their Undertaking, the same Genius which had so manifestly erred in the Disposition of every Article in Mr Boscawen's Voyage, was now determined to make ample Atonement to his Country for this Desiciency of Judgment, and by distributing the E—-sb Fleet in such a Manner, that not a French Ship of War should escape it in her Return to France, demonstrate

frate that he was yet equal to the supreme Conduct of the E—f Navy.

IT feems some Time last Summer, a Thief who had robbed, and been apprehended, a desperate Fellow, had escaped from before the Justice, and flying to another House had bolted the Door, and secured himself in one Room of it; the Constable, who had followed to this Retreat, knowing the Rashness of the Man, and the Nature of his Situation, conceived no small Apprehensions of Danger in attacking him in that Place; he therefore with

with great Prudence acquainted his Worship with the Circumstances of the Affair; the Justice, after mature Deliberation, wisely confidered it was impossible that the Thief, was he ever so brave, through want of Provision and other Necessaries, could long remain in that Post; he therefore ordered the Siege to be turned into a Blockade, and bad the Constable and his Affistants to tarry before the Door; Watch the Door, Tom, says his Worship to the Constable, through that Door he must come, therefore mind the Door, and he cannot possibly escape us.

This being resolved on, nothing could be more alert than the Constable, and no Men in higher Spirits than his Gang; the Commander, as soon as it was dark, placed a Lanthorn and Candle at the Door to see all that might pass from or to the House, and during the whole Night most manfully with his Associates stood on his Arms, ready prepared with his Staff in his Hand, happily to demolish the Thief the Moment he should pretend to sally and escape him.

This Duty being performed through the Length of two whole Days and two whole Nights,

Nights, the Justice in momentary Expectation of hearing that the Thief was taken, and the Constable haranguing the Mob, which attended on the Thief's Perseverance; at the fame Time wondering, that he had not been obliged to furrender through Drought and Hunger; when an old Acquaintance of the befieged arrived with Intelligence, that he had met the Thief the first Morning after his Confinement, at the break of Day, twenty Miles from that very House in which the Justice had to that Moment imagined he was closely shut up: In fact, the sagacious Head of the Justice had never conceived, that, notwithstanding a Door may be bolted ever so strong and watched ever so diligently, that a Man might get out at the Window, as it really happened in this very Case.

In like Manner, whilst Mr H—ne, according to the Orders of his Superior, was cruizing at the Door between Newfoundland and Cape Breton, and the marine M—r believed Dubois de la Mothe still confined and starving in the River St Lawrence, that sly Frenchman slipt through the Window, between the northern Parts of Newfoundland and the Continent, by the Streights of Belleiste, unsuspected

unsuspected by the penetrating Spirit of our first D——r in marine Affairs; so that he heard de la Mothe and his Squadron were safely arrived at Brest, before he knew he had quitted the River St Lawrence.

Thus then, in the Conduct of this naval Transaction, there are to be found five very conspicuous Instances of most consummate Ignorance; first the Ignorance of the Number of the Enemy's Ships; secondly, the Insufficiency of the English Fleet; thirdly, their not being ordered to cruize before Brest; fourthly, their being ordered to cruize where they could not see their Enemy; and fifthly, to cruize between Newsoundland and Cape Breton, to intercept a Fleet which did not pass that way.

THIS Justice, however, must be done the marine M——r to his Honour; the first Ignorance of a proper Station for cruizing, preferved the English Fleet from the Danger of the last Ignorance of the Number of the Enemy's Fleet, and Insufficiency of our own.

Notwithstanding this uniform Concatenation of Errors, there are those who attempt Hence then it may be gathered, that if hereafter any naval Captain, indulged with five Ships, at the Expence of Five Hundred Thousand Pounds of the Nation's Money, to make a Fortune for himself, shall sail round the Globe, and by the very utmost Effort of all possible Chances, like throwing twenty Aces on twenty Dice the first Time, take a Ship worth a Million of Money for his and his Company's Advantage; that though he does not surround a weaker Man than himself, he may yet preside and direct the whole Navy of E—— d to the Ruin of the Kingdom.

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SUCH Fatality, according to the present fashionable Phrase of Excuse, having attended the Conduct of this naval Expedition in every particular! A Fatality doomed to attend insufficient Judgments nine Times in ten, since the Creation! A fresh Instance offers itself, of reinstating our marine M——r in the popular Opinion, which began greatly to decline in his Favour.

IT feems Monsieur Du Guay, a French Admiral, was arrived at Cadiz, with fix Ships of the Line in his way to Brest; this Admiral, and this Squadron, the same naval Genius, who had so wisely destined the former Fleet of E——d, was determined to intercept.

HE remembered the Errors which had been imputed to his Charge in the Destination of Boscawen's Fleet, Insufficiency in Force, and wrong Appointment in the Station of cruizing; he was therefore determined to avoid these two Mistakes, at least at this Time; accordingly on the eighteenth of July Mr Hawke, with eighteen sail of the Line, was sent to intercept the six French Ships under the Command of Du Guay, and with

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this whole Fleet, so superior to the Enemy, to cruize off Cape Finisterre, 'till the French Ships should appear.

This Exploit again was trumpeted forth by m——I Hirelings, as an insuperable Proof of great marine Knowledge in the Director; the Station was happily chosen, the Number of the Ships sufficient, and the Game sure; here was nothing for the most malevolent Disposition to blame: Envy must now be dumb, or, if it spoke, speak in the Praise of this Design; and yet a Mistake much like the former in it's Consequences prevailed also at this Time, and in this Manner it must prevail, when Designs miscarry, not from Accidents, for which Men of Sense may be pardoned in not foreseeing, but from radical Insufficiency and Understanding.

It feems that the fame Head, which had conceived that there was but one way of failing from Canada to Brest, and had never thought of the Streights of Belleisle; had in this Place, imagined the Sea like Hounslow Heath, where a Man may sit on Horseback on one side and see what passes on the other, and that all Ships which are steering to Brest from

from Cadiz, are obliged to turn the Corner at Cape Finisterre, like race Horses at a Post, or lose their Voyage. Probably this great naval M-r had reasoned much in the following Manner; all Ships, which have no Enemy to fear or avoid, in their Course from Cadiz to Brest, make Cape Finisterre; wherefore, every Ship which knows there is an Enemy in the Way, and has Reason to be under Apprehension of Danger, will certainly fail the same Way; and therefore Mr Hawke shall be destined to cruize off Cape Finisterre to intercept them. Admirable Instance of Sea Logick; without reasoning in this Manner, is it possible he could have destined the Fleet as he did?

Monsieur Du Guay, however, it feems from the same Principles drew Inferences diametrically opposite; and in order to avoid the usual Course which is steered from Cadiz to Brest, sailed directly West from Spain into the Atlantick Ocean; when being at a great Distance from the Coast, he changed his Course, and stood directly for the Land's End of E-d; by this Precaution of failing West to a great Distance before he steered towards the Channel, he passed on the Outside L 2

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of all our Fleet, cruizing at Cape Finisterre; and arriving safely in the Channel, sell in behind it with his Squadron, and got safe into the Harbour of Brest.

Such was the Event of this second Exhibition of boasted marine Knowledge, avoiding the Errors of the former Conduct generated the very Miscarriage of this; and so it will for ever happen to Men, who fancy that by shunning the Mistakes of passed Management they shall succeed in the present; whoever does not intuitively distinguish Right from Wrong in the Conduct of great Affairs, can never be successful by judging from Parallellarity; because, as in these two Instances, tho' Ships, Seas, and the directing their Stations, may be the whole Concern in each; yet the Similarity in these Objects create no Reason, either to avoid Mistakes or pursue the Advantages of a prior Destination, where there is no resemblance of Circumstances in the Undertaking; and no two can be fufficiently fimilar, or sufficiently unlike, to justify a parallel or opposite Conduct, in any Director of them.

THE Duke du Tallard, as I have been informed by a Gentleman who thoroughly understands

derstands military Affairs, made the same Disposition at Blenheim, that the great Gustavus Adolphus had done at the famous Battle which he won against Valstein, yet the French General was defeated, and the English triumphed. No Circumstances can be sufficiently alike to justify fimular Proceedings in Men who are to direct; Imitators want Force of understanding to penetrate, pursue. and put in Action, that which the original Contrivers had conceived in various Ways in laying down their Plan. They are Mimicks of what was done, without comprehending the whole Force of what might have been done: Wherefore, in the Progress of an Action planned in Imitation of another, when the Circumstances vary from the former, not feeing the Reason of the Design, they are unequal to the supplying what the original Contriver would easily have afforded; knowing no more than the Historian has delivered, they follow fervilely like Copyists and are defeated. Had this marine M-r, in his Destinations of these naval Expeditions, judged from original Lights and Principles, he must certainly have imagined, that Du Guay would have avoided the beaten Track in Times of Peace; he would therefore have divided

divided Mr Hawke's Squadron into two equal Parts, which making nine in each Squadron, would have been still three to two, a proper and superior Force wherewith to oppose Monsieur Du Guay; these, attended with smaller Ships to have been used as Scouts, by cruizing off Cape Finisterre, and in the other Station through which the French Squadron passed, there being but these two Ways of steering their Courses, without great ill Luck, at least without Blame to the Planner of the Cruize, must have intercepted the French Fleet in it's coming to Brest, and brought their Ships into English Harbours.

This however not being done, proves that the flying from Error on one Side, drives weak Minds into an equal Mistake in the opposite Extreme, as young Spendthrifts frequently become old Misers.

Nor is it in Matters of great Moment only this Insufficiency of Conduct appears, the Sloop which carried the Field-Equipage belonging to the Officers of Otway's Regiment from London to Plymouth, because the Transports were sailed before she arrived at that Port,

Port, was obliged to wait for Orders to follow them.

THE Transports which the M-r had cunningly fent to bring the Dutch Troops over, before he knew they would come, like a Booby who feeks a Midwife before his Wife is with Child, after their fruitless and expensive Stay in Holland, sailed for the Hefhans, when it was first discovered that no Orders from the Ad--- had been transmitted to justify the taking these Troops on Board. This Neglect created this expensive Delay, 'till a Letter could come from and return to that Part of Europe; nay, even the H——ns, fo very dear to this Nation, were permitted to fail hither without Convoy, fo that two twenty gun Ships of France, might have carried them all into Dunkirk with great Facility.

THE Superintendency of our Islands in America, is not one iota less remarkably provident; Monsieur D'Aubigny is too strong for our Fleet at Antigua and the Leeward Islands, and Monsieur Perrier de Salvert is in the same Situation with Respect to our Fleet at Jamaica, notwithstanding that Admiral

miral Townshend, with his whole Fleet of one Ship, is safely arrived at that Island.

In like Manner, as the very ultimate of all found Judgment had been displayed in the Distribution of the Cannon, Carriages, Powder, and Ball, separately on Board the Transports for America; so another Exhibition of equal good Sense appears in sending out the four Commanders to the Mediterranean; for as by the Sagacity of dividing the Stores. the Chance of defeating the Defign was increased as four to one; so by confining all these four commanding Officers to one Ship, and not fending them separately, the Chance is increased in the same Proportion that the whole Defign of their Voyage may be frustrated also. War has been already declared two Months, and no Ship is yet fent to give Notice of it in the East-Indies.

THE Judgments of our M—rs, like Pendulums, being eternally vibrating from one Extreme to another, passing through yet not resting in the Mean, what Hopes can ye entertain of reinstating the happy Situation from which ye are fallen. That which should have been blended they have divided, and

and that which should have been separated they have united; and through the whole have proved themselves the very Antipodes to common Sense; few Men have been born with Talents and Abilities vastly superior to the rest of Mankind, yet many have been well adapted to the Knowledge and Conduct of little Things, who have been incapable of comprehending the Effect and Beauty of what is great and fublime, like the Fly which admired the polish of a Mirroir, and condemned the Architecture of St Paul's; the merest Fribble of a Virtuoso, insensible to the great Order of Nature, can trace with Delight and Skill the various and minute Shapes, Shades, and Colours, in a Shell or Flower, which distinguish one from another, but there appears in the Ad——n of the present M——r in maritime Affairs, and equal Incapacity for the Conduct of great and little Matters; the same Head which has so egregiously erred in the Destination and Appointment of larger Fleets; has in like manner been infufficient to the minutest Duty of his Office; one Instance of the former more conspicuously flagrant than the rest, now comes to be laid before you.

M

SINCE

SINCE the Beginning of last January, every News-Paper has been replete with the great military Preparations which were making at Toulon, the Number of Ships equipping and Soldiers marching towards that Port, Marseilles, and Places adjacent. The Object for which the Forces were destined was as constantly mentioned; this Subject was the common Conversation of all Ranks of Men, from the Artisan to the Peer, and all except the M——rs believed that Minorca would speedily be attacked.

If the Nature of this military Preparation would have permitted a Concealment of it, much

much might have been said in Vindication of the M—rs who gave no Credit to the Account; but since Thousands saw and declared it to all the Nations upon Earth, Why were the M—rs dissident of or unacquainted with it: An Instance unexampled in any Ad—n but their own; the Number of Macnamara's Fleet had before been equally unknown or disbelieved; this then is the second Instance of satal Ignorance, desective Intelligence, or arrogant Disbelief of the Force of our Enemies.

By whatever Arguments the M—rs might be seduced to discredit this military Preparation at Toulon, the very Probability of Minorca's being attacked, and the essential Importance which it is of to the B—sh Commerce, ought to have created a Jealousy in them, that the French would not long overlook so important an Object, unattended to and neglected, as it was by them: These Considerations alone, without giving Credit to what was transacting at Toulon, made it their Duty indispensably to have placed Minorca in Security from all French Invasion.

M 2 BESIDES

BESIDES these Reasons, there was vet another Motive to the strengthening that Island from Hostilities, and to the believing it threatened with an Invasion, the repeated Requests for Succours from the brave Commander of the Castle of St Philip. This Gallant Man, after reiterated Letters to the M-rs, at length wrote to this Purpose to his nearest Relation; " I have often requested Succours " from the M-r, I have been as often fromised to receive them, and as constantly " disappointed in the Promise; this then, f' will, I imagine, terminate in my falling a "Sacrifice to their Neglect; however, tho' " it should shorten my Days a Year or two, " it will the sooner put you in Possession of " what I shall leave you, and in which I " wish you happy.

NOTWITHSTANDING the Consequence of that Island to this Kingdom, what had been published by the Publick, written by the Governor, and believed by all Mankind, no Attention was paid to the Protection of it: No Land Forces sent, though the Number within the Fortress was known to be unequal to the Duty and Desence of it against a Siege; and

and whereas in the Year Seventeen Hundred and Forty-four Admiral Matthews, with a Fleet of forty-eight Sail, nine of which were three-decked Ships, was employed in the Mediterranean; now Commodore Edge-cumbe, with three Ships and two Frigates only, was thought a sufficient Protection for the Mediterranean Trade, and Island of Minorca.

WHATEVER were the Reasons, no Attention was paid to this important Possession. Whilst all Europe beheld this Neglect with Amazement, and every true English Heart trembled for the Wound which he saw must be inflicted on his Country, our M-rs were honourably engaged in laying Wagers there was no Fleet nor Sailors to man a Fleet at Toulon, that if there should be any it was not defigned against Mahon; and treating with Derision the Apprehensions of all who foresaw the Event, and whose Love for their Country would not permit them to be at Ease; whilst the Honour of the Crown and the Interest of the Kingdom were open to Insult and Diminution by this finister Neglect, and the French attacking Minorca.

DURING this Time, our Royal Navy full manned and prepared for the Seas was riding triumphantly at Spithead, and the Head of the Ad-y paid as an Ad-1, absent on Leave, at the Rate of a Thousand a Year, as if all that had been done in Honours and Profits, had been hitherto inadequate to his Merit: Glorious Picture of Wisdom in your M-rs, illustrious Anecdote of their prudent Ad——n, for their Sons to read hereafter and curse their Sires; but happily, Providence, in Commiseration to this People, has denied that Bleffing to the most conspicuous of them, kindly refusing to their Wishes that Progeny, which, treading in their Father's Footsteps, must still be baneful to this Isle.

AT length, after four Months passed in m——I Inattention, and in Wonder by gazing Multitudes, Mr Byng set sail on the fifth of April from Spithead, with ten Ships of the Line for the Mediterranean.

DURING these Months of Inattention and Neglect, La Gallissoniere, with twelve Ships of the Line and five Frigates, with Transports sufficient to carry fifteen Thousand Men, Ammunition, Ammunition, and Artillery, for a Siege, commanded by the Duc de Richelieu, were gotten ready and failed from Toulon; and on the Eighteenth of April landed in the Island of Minorca, eight Days after our Fleet weighed Anchor from Spithead, and almost six Weeks before they arrived near Mahon. The Confirmation of the French Descent on Minorca, was the first Intelligence which demonstrated the Truth of what all Men believed except the M——rs, and of what they had neglected in not sending Succours to Mahon.

PERNICIOUS as this Delay of fending Succours now appeared to every Eye, it was not yet irremediable, though the Troops were debarked, the Citadel was not yet taken, and the avowed Bravery of the Commander, justified the Belief, that no shameful Surrender of the Fortress would stain the last Moments of his Life. Notwithstanding which, it was considently afferted by the M——rs and their hireling Spouters, that La Gallissoniere's Fleet consisted only of eight Ships of the Line, and that Mr Byng would blow them out of the Water.

HERE was an Opportunity to be envied of retrieving all the Reputation which had been forfeited by the first Neglect, in not sending a sufficient Force to oppose the Enemy's Descent on Minorca.

MEN of Genius, though hitherto deluded or mistaken, would have improved this Oversight into an Advantage, and by reinforcing the Squadron under Mr B—g, with a Number of Ships equal to that with which he set Sail, would have deseated the French Fleet and starved their Troops in Minorca: By preventing military Stores, they would have saved St Philip's, and by preventing the Arrival of Provision, have obliged the whole Army to have surrendered Prisoners of War.

How capable then was the first Neglect of being converted to the Glory of the King and Kingdom; but alas! They knew not the Strength of that very Citadel, which was to be besieged; and the Moment they received the Intelligence of the French being landed, desponding, they concluded it was taken; otherwise the first Inattention might have been metamorphosed from Incapacity to Wisdom, from Disgrace

Disgrace to Honour, from Loss to Advantage, from Censure to Applause. All the States of Europe would have believed the first Behaviour, as designed to obtain the second Advantage; and converting an egregious Imbecility into a refined Stratagem conceived highly of that Policy, which is now universally despised and exploded. But, alas! the same Saturnine Planet rules our M——rs alike arbitrarily, at all Hours and on all Occasions; their Genius tending eternally to the Center, like a Stone thrown into a Cavern tells you by every Stroke, that it sinks nearer to the Abyss of Waters, in which it slounces at last and is no more heard of.

THE Error which hath been committed in not fending Succours at first, improved by sending an insufficient Force under Mr Byng, was still continued by neglecting to send a Reinforcement, which would probably have joined him before he reached Gibraltar; at least a Ship might have carried Intelligence to Corunna; and as the Winds were adverse for the Squadron, a Courier would have reached Gibraltar before the Fleet, and detained it 'till he was joined by a further Force.

Notwithstanding this, Mr Byng was suffered to proceed with ten Ships of the Line, and the Chance of meeting Mr Edge-cumbe, thirteen in all against twelve French Sail of equal Force to relieve Minorca; whilst Mr Ofborne, with fifteen Sail of the Line remained at Spithead, and ten in the Harbour of Portsmouth.

AT length, after long Delays from adverse Winds, Mr B-g arrives on the twentieth of May within Sight of Minorca and the Enemy's Fleet; imagine then, what must be the Joy which fired the Heart of the old gallant Blakeney at the Sight of the B-fb Fleet; warmed with all the Spirit of a true Subject, he now cherished the fond Hopes of obtaining Glory to himself, Honour to his Master, and Interest to his Country, by this Succour which he saw, in defeating the Enemy's Fleet, and rendering all the French Schemes abortive; such, probably, was the pleasing Entertainment of his Mind, when the B-fb Flag appeared in Sight.

But, alas! Mr B—g, after having attacked the French Squadron, with not a Man killed

or wounded on board his own and many other Ships; with but Forty-eight killed, and One Hundred Sixty-eight wounded in the whole Squadron, retires unattempting to relieve the Garrison of Mahon, because the Intrepid had her Fore-Top-Mast shot away, and leaves the brave General and his Companions cooped within the Garrison of St Philip's, quite destitute of all Hopes of Relief,

JUDGE then, what was the Horror of this brave Man's Mind, when he first knew the Behaviour of our Fleet, and faw all his Expectations of Relief and Honour reduced to Air; deserted in this Manner by the B-//2 Navy, he was yet sustained by himself; his Heart felt the Behaviour of Mr B-g with more Anguish than the Necessity of being obliged to capitulate; he defended the Citadel to the last, and then gave it up reluctantly to your Enemies: If ye have yet the Faculties of human Nature, weep over the severe Fate of that brave Man, and the Sacrifice of your neglected Fellow-Countrymen! Pay that Tribute to the Remembrance of their Bravery, though ye are denied Arms to revenge their Loss. Then call to Mind by whose Conduct they have perished.

N 2 RESOLVE

RESOLVE me then, those who daily suck the vital Blood of E-d, and vociferate in Defence of m-l Conduct; whence did it fpring, that the Number of the Enemy's Fleet, which in the Beginning was known to all, was still unknown to the M-rs? Why a superior Force was not sent to destroy them? And why, when French Forces were landed at Minorca, and the Number of the Squadron acknowledged to be twelve, that a Reinforcement was not immediately fent after Mr Byng. yet to frustrate the French Attempts, destroy the Fleet, and starve or take Prisoners Marshal Richelieu and his whole Army? Tell me, ye who are hired or share in the spoiling your Country for fuch Purposes; tell me, --- or is this Behaviour fo heinous, that even ye are Mafters ?

How then are those opposite Manners of m—I Proceeding with Respect to Germany and Minorca, reconcileable with the Interest of G—t-B—n, and the Duty of a B—sh M—r; why was H—r fortisted and secured by Treaties, with Russians, Prussians, Hessians, and Holsteiners, purchased by Prosu-

fion of E- 1 Treasure? H-r, which has already proved so fatal in exhausting the Riches of E-d; and Minorca, though not the Source of your Wealth, the Protection of it when drawn from other Fountains, totally difregarded? What Reason can be affigned for this inverted Behaviour, but that having lavished Millions in Consequence of those Treaties, and the Safeguard of German Dominions, there remained not Supplies sufficient to protect Minorca: This, though the most profligate, would have been some Excuse; but these Men are yet more unnatural and abandoned; they have fattened a spurious Race with your Heritage, and starved their legitimate Offspring; whilst (from Authority it is pronounced) your annual P-y Supplies were vigorous and effectual.

HAVE they then thus difrespectfully treated you, that the Sources of your Wealth from Commerce, being diminished by the Lots of Mahon, your declining State may sooner introduce Poverty, with Dejection her Companion, and adapt your Souls to the wearing with Tranquillity, those Chains which the m——I Posspolite is forging for you? Or, that your Protection being destroyed against the Barbary Corfairs,

Corsairs, your honest Sailors may fall a Prey to that remorseless Crew, and learning there teach at their Return, that being yet one Degree above the Slaves of *Barbary*, ye have not equal Right to deplore your Fate, and thus sooth ye to Contentment?

FATAL as this may prove to this once happy Country, culpable as the Ad----l may appear in the Eyes of all Europe, difgraceful as it is to the B-/b Arms, and difhonourable to the Crown of these Realms. Are not those who delayed the Succours at first, those who left that Neglect unremedied by fending an insufficient Force, and even providing against that second Error by a Reinforcement, yet infinitely more the Objects of your Resentment? Speaking like Men, not blinded with the reigning Maladies of Arrogance and Self-fufficiency, but from the Experience of former Times, what Expectations could be reasonably entertained, that ten E-sh Ships of inferior Force, or even when joined by Mr Edgecumbe's Squadron, that equal Powers would have had a more than equal Chance of Victory; or that the Event would prove less favourable to the Enemy than the English; fuch Imaginations in Favour of their Countrymen

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Countrymen may be laudable, and of Service in the common Sailor and common Soldier; but in the Man who is to appoint Fleets and Commanders, foolish, culpable, and destructive.

LET it be imagined, however, that the B-/b Fleet with this Equality of Force could have conquered the French; was it reafonable to believe the Victory would have been so cheaply purchased, and our Ships so little damaged by the Engagement, as to keep the Seas and relieve Minorca? As it probably would not, and as both Fleets were equally excluded from the Harbour of Mahon, would not a Conquest over the French Squadron have been even then attended with the Lofs of the Citadel and Island? To what Realm could the E-h Fleet have steered to find Materials to repair the Injuries of the Battle? Would Spain have supplied them with naval Stores, and indulged them to refit in Carthagena? No Man the least accquainted with the present Dispositions of that Court believes they would; probably then, confidering the present State of Lisbon, Plymouth is the first hospitable Harbour that could have afforded them Affistance.

above, would have prevented the Fleet of E——d from keeping the Seas and succouring Minorca, how much less likely is it, that effectual Relief would have been the Consequence of a drawn Battle or a Deseat on our Side? Does it not appear then too evident, that no Success, which good Sense has a Right to expect with such Parity of Force, could have relieved the Citadel of St Philip, or justified the M——rs in sending out so small a Squadron for the Deseate of so important an Object.

WHATEVER then may prove the Event of this Engagement to the Admiral, let not the Depravity of his Behaviour seduce your Attention from those who sent him so unequal to the Undertaking. If, after a candid and deliberate Examination, it shall appear that he has been egregiously remiss in his Duty to his King and Country at the Hour of Battle; consider how much more those are delinquent, who delayed the Expedition and sent him at last with insufficient Force. There are Men, when superior to their Enemies, who wear the Outside of Gallantry and succeed, who perhaps when on equal Terms, from

from confessing some inward Sensations of Danger, may retire and miscarry; if it was his Duty to have risqued every Thing in Preservation of Mahon, was it less obligatory on them, by a superior Fleet, to have prevented all probable Presumption of Miscarriage? After all, if Mr B-g's Spirit proved in the Experiment inferior to that of the Enemy, was not the Armament which the M-r gave him to command, inferior to that of the French also? On what Account was the B-6 Fleet obliged to risque the Loss of Victory and Minorca, by engaging on equal Terms, when by being double that Number, it might have preserved the Island, and triumphed over your Adversaries? Whence does it arise then, that if the marine M-r is by Nature and Capacity adapted to the Duty of his high Office, that a Man so obviously unequal to the Task was selected to command the Fleet of E-d, and a Fleet so inferior to the Duty sent to protect Makon?

WHATEVER Delinquency may then be imagined to have been committed on this Account, are not the M——rs still more criminal? The bravest Man on Earth, by exerting every superior Faculty of the human Mind, destined

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and appointed to command a Fleet of that Force, might only more conspicuously have manifested the Insufficiency of the m——I Provision and Judgment, in the conducting this Assair; and proved, that though Victory should have crowned his Arms, that the shattered Condition of his Ships would have rentered it impossible to preserve Mahon; whereas the M——rs had it in their Power, by augmenting the Force of the Fleet, not only to have prevented Disgrace, but to have commanded Success, saved Minorca, defeated their Enemies, and crowned themselves, the Ad——l, their King and Country with immortal Honour.

that the Kingdom cannot furnish Sailors to man the Fleet with more Expedition, and that a large Number of Men of War are necessary for Channel Service, and to prevent Invasions on this Island, and therefore a greater Force could not be sent to the Mediterranean; ask how it was done the last War? And why, in the P—t of One Thousand Seven Hundred and Fifty-five, when all this that has followed, and much more was apprehended, a Militia Bill was neglected to be passed? This would have permitted the M-r to have destined your Fleet to useful Enterprizes, and cleared Spithead from flying Pendants, and the useless Parade of a large Navy without Application or Advantage. This would have faved you Millions of Money, and secured your Shores from every hostile Attack, more effectually than all the Ships built fince the Ark, or Argo which fet fail with Admiral Jason to fetch the golden Fleece from Colchos.

IF then the Souls of our M—rs are in Unifon with their Country's Good, why did they delay and reject this necessary Duty to their King and their Fellow-Subjects?

LET

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LET then the Word Militia be eternally halloo'd in their Ears; may their Imaginations awake and sleeping be haunted with this terrifying Neglect; may this Idea be ever present to their Minds, the Ghost of that Bleffing which they strangled, 'till alarmed by Dread and Guilt they repent and arm this defenceless Land.

To what Region is now fled all that Panegyrick, which was so loudly sounded through the Kingdom, of Dispatch, Diligence, and Capacity, in the m—e M—r? Why were those Ships so expeditiously equipt, so ineffectually destined and applied? What Injury has this Hurry and Expence brought on your Enemies, or what Advantage to this Nation, unless the private Gains of a few Thousands, and the infamous Appellation of Thieves and Pyrates from your Enemies, unanswered by your M—rs, are conceived an adequate Recompence for the national Expence of Millions, and the Loss of Character through all the Realms of Europe.

THE baseless Fabrick of his Temple of Fame then is vanished; the deserted Proprie-

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tor of that short-lived Glare of Reputation is now sunk into rayles Obscurity, like the Bliss of some poor Cottager, who from his Dream of Millions wakes amidst the Pangs of Penury; happy for this Isle, could the satal Effects of his Male-administration vanish with the unmerited Reputation of the Author.

EGREGIOUSLY delinquent as the M—rs have proved themselves in this Neglect of Minorca; with what accumulated Guilt ought they to be viewed, when the Recapitulation of their whole Conduct comes to be considered by you.

 tention to that valuable Part of B—sh Possessions, many Provinces are left open to hostile Inroad. May not the French, who have been some Time sending Troops to the Mississippi, this Summer become Masters of Georgia and Carolina, so defenceless and open; or perhaps some Province more lucrative and better adapted to the Necessities of France.

boasted naval Bulwark, if the same Men continue to direct it, who have already lavished by in ineffectual Destination and insufficient theoree so many Millions? Have the French Expeditions been rendered abortive in one Instance? Have the Captures of their Ships of War exceeded three, equal to our Loss only?

In like Manner, behold what have been the fatal Consequences of their Transactions in Europe; Treaties, ruinous to E—d, partial to H—r, and yet destructive to the Welfare of that State; Desertion of old Allies and more potent Friendships, for Connexions with weaker and more needy Powers; Profusion of public Money to hireling Mercenaries, national Degradation and Contempt in foreign Eyes, Imputation of Disloyalty or Cowardice

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Cowardice on yourselves, whilst you are denied the Use of Arms to defend yourselves, your Wives, and Daughters, from open Enemies, and the sacrilegious Hands of venal Foreigners, nurtured by your own Money, brought on pretended Terms of Hospitality, if they should dare to treat you with Insolence.

In the mean Time, your Fellow-Subjects feduced into the Army by Promises of being listed for three Years, and to defend their Country only, are kidnapped and forced on board Ship by Compulsion, treated and transported like Slaves God knows where; to return, God knows when \*.

## \* PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

Extract of a Letter from Plymouth, dated May 21.

Yesterday Morning Colonel Campbell's new-raised Regiment was reviewed in the Field, and ordered to appear at Four o'Clock in the Asternoon on the Dock, without Arms; which they accordingly did, and, without much Difficulty, marched into the Dock-Yard, followed to the Gates by the Garrison, with their Bayonets fixed and Muskets loaded, to keep Guard while they were again reviewed by General Hume, the Colonel, and Admiral Mossyn; after which the Companies were divided, and a Signal-Gun being fired from the Admiral's Ship, for all the Boats to attend, they were immediately embarked without any Disturbance, except heavy Complaints at their being sent abroad, contrary to the Terms of the Advertisement, and the Promises made them at the Time of their inlisting.

Alexand Desire

Is it not possible then, that by continuing to increase the Number of insolent Foreigners, and sending out the native Troops, that at length a standing Army of the former, may become too formidable to be opposed by the People of G-t-B-n, disarmed as ye are? Or even by the Military thus daily decreasing by Transportation to distant Parts of the World, if at length they should resent the want of Considence which is manifested by thus relying on H-ns and H-ns, in Preference to that loyal Body of Men.

Who then can wonder, if from one continued Series of Mistakes, and flagrant Manifestations of m——I Incapacity, the Swedes should snatch this golden Opportunity of repossessing Bremen and Verden, the Austrians Silesia, the Spaniards Gibraltar, and the French, after having secured Minorca to themselves, invade the Kingdom of Ireland; and, to close the whole, ransack this very Island of G-t-B-n.

HAVE not the Treaty with Prussia, and desertion of Austrian Interest, laid a probable Foundation for the Swedes and Germans to accomplish

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accomplish the two former? Will not the suffering Mahon to be taken and yielding up that Harbour to the French, encourage the Spaniard, to attempt the third? And France having no farther Object for her Fleet in the Mediterranean, unite and employ all her Force in perpetrating the fourth.

WILL then the actual Possession of some and nearer Prospect of subduing all these Places, permit the m-l Gang to raise the Supplies for the ensuing Year? Will those who have affifted the M-y, through the lucrative View of private Interest, lend them their Money when the Danger of losing all exceeds the Possibility of the Profit? Then will it not too evidently appear, when Bankruptcy, Distress, and Anarchy are let loose, that the unlimited Profusion of E-h Gold for German Interest, has at length brought that Inundation of Evils, so long predicted, on this deplorable Country.

Who then are Friends, and who your Foes? What are those Men who dare to impute Disloyalty to Subjects, whose Words and Actions would have contributed to fave this finking State, if their Counsel had been followed? P

followed? Shall the tracing a Scotch Renegado Jesuit through all his doubling Lies and Fallacies, to prevent future Imposition on a few, by the Discovery, be (as it ought) deemed a laudable and honest Pursuit: and yet the unravelling the Mischiefs which M-rs have brought on a whole Nation, and attempting to rescue it from their impious Hands, be blasted with the Appellation of a Libel? Be not, like individual Atoms playing in the Sun-Beams, detached from one another, Conducto blows amongst ye; let the general Good, like the general Attraction, hold ye firm, to what ye owe yourselves and Country; otherwise, to what Purpose do ye curse the Ad that for fook the Cause of his King and Country, and praise the Gallant Blakeney who never deferted his Trust? Why do ye importunately ask, Will the Spaniards join the French to attack Gibraltar? Will the French invade this Kingdom? Alas! neither Imprecation nor Panegyrick, the taking or Defence of Gibraltar, or even the coming of the French, can bring a greater though a more fudden Evil on your Condition; nothing can long relieve or fave this Nation, if the same Rulers in the Cabinet continue to prefide, ye need Slower Mr.

need no foreign Enemy to make ye Slaves. Can ye conceive that the same Men who have brought Ruin on your Affairs, have either Inclination or Abilities to reinstate them in their former happy Situation? inquisitive but Sensless of your Fate, your Souls seem to have lost all those virtuous and quick Sensations, which have hitherto been the inseparable Companions of a free State.

To what Purpose then, when all Remedies must come too late, will this predicted Ruin be believed by you? What will then avail that Anguish, when you curse your Destroyers and your own Inattention? perhaps accompanied with this imbittering Reslexion, that those whom ye affisted to ruin you have bound your Hands in Chains, and are become the arbitrary Masters of the Kingdom. Unless then ye suddenly awake from this Trance into which ye are fallen, your foreign or domestick Enemies will prevent ye, and then ye must sleep the Sleep of Death, England is no more!

However destructive therefore this Action of Mr B—g may appear on Enquiry, remember, before it be too late, once more I
P 2 charge

charge you to examine whether the original Authors of that Evil, are not infinitely more criminal? If it shall be found, that his Conduct has in one Instance entailed Disgrace on this Kingdom, let it be feen whether the M-rs have not by numberless and repeated Acts, almost overwhelmed the Land with Infamy; nay, though he should be condemned for want of Courage, will it not be just to enquire whether, if those Men have with unwearied Diligence depreciated every Virtue, and fapped every honourable Motive of the human Soul, given Power and Honours to Riches only, and neglected all Degrees of Merit; this very Imputation of want of Resolution, may not equitably be ascribed to them also?

Is it then a Wonder, that Men in all Ranks, corrupted in Head and Heart, should be unequal to the Tasks which Honour only can inspire and Virtue accomplish? Remember then, if Mr B—g be doomed to Punishment, to which it is not improbable he may, as a Scape-Goat offered to your Resentment for the Salvation of the M—rs, that this can avail nothing in your Favour; will not the same Desiciency of Judgment still operate in the Choice of Commanders and Destination of Expeditions,

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Expeditions, whilst the Direction remains in the same Hands? What Expectation have ye by his Removal, that your national Affairs will wear a better Face, or raise the fallen Condition of this sinking Land.

WILL it not then be strictly equitable, that the same Voice which calls Mr B-g to a candid Examination of his Conduct, should fummon also those who have so long and so fatally superintended the Direction of national Affairs to an impartial Enquiry, that ye be ascertained why the Territories of England on the Obio were shamefully conceded to the French; to whom and to what Purposes your Millions have been lavished, whether to the Ruin or Advantage of this Island; on what Account Mahon and America were neglected, and H-r preferred to all; and from what Cause it happens, that Six Millions and a Half in the last Year of Queen Anne's Reign, could fuffice for the Interest of Fifty Millions and the Support of a vigorous War; that now Twelve Millions, when the annual Expence of the Debt by the diminished Interest of Money exceeds not what it was at that Time, are not equal to the annual Extravagance of the M-rs, or productive of one Victory.

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In her Reign, though your Treasures were exhausted, and your Fellow-Subjects slaughtered for German Interests, ye sustained the slattering Character of a brave and honest People amongst the Nations, and were by the superb Victories which your General obtained, honoured and revered; but under the Direction of these inauspicious M—rs, ye live without Renown, and die without Victory, stigmatized with the infamous Brand of Thieves and Pirates, by that Nation which then dared not to look ye in the Face: Shameful Alternative!

Notwithstanding this, if before a just Tribunal the Transactions of the M—rs shall be found both honourable and upright, and the approaching Fate of B—n owing to those irresistable Causes, by which all Nations perish, and to which they are not accessary; they will then like Souls passed through Purgatory to Paradise, rise from Calumny to Approbation, from Hatred to Esteem, from Pain to Pleasure; what then can be more acceptable to Men of Integrity, than such an Enquiry? But is, through the Evidence of Truth, they shall stand convicted of Maleadministration, let no Malevolence presume

to draw Comparisons between the Conduct of passed M-rs who have suffered, and the present who have not, or attempt increasing the Heinousness of their Actions, by truly stating those of the Sufferers: For the Sake of these who are yet alive, I wish you never to recal the Decapitation of Lord Strafford, or compare his and their Conduct; Revenge is criminal, it is unworthy a Briton; if the Love of your Country must make ye feel the Passions to which human Nature is subjected, remember, though ye are Men that ye are Christians also; and, notwithstanding the Ruin of this Land is well nigh compleated, implore your S-n to afford those Enemies to his Realm that Mercy which they have ever denied his innocent People; and when he shall graciously preserve them from condign Punishment, that he will mercifully cast an Eye of Pity also on Millions of his faithful Subjects, and fave them from Perdition, by at once removing from his Presence, the Spoilers of the Dignity of his Crown, and Liberties of his Subjects; keep then your Eyes and Attention steadily on your Prince, from him expect Relief, there remains yet one Method by which ye may all be faved.

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